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Series: Speech File Draft Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13495
Folder ID Number: 13495-018

Folder Title:
Residents of Leiden 7/17/89 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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~~SENSITIVE~~

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/15/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 9:00 A.M. Sunday 07/16

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK -- THE NETHERLANDS

(07/15 12:30 p.m. draft 3)

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BLACKWILL</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments/recommendations directly to Chriss Winston in the Seniro staff office, Rm. 1051 by 9:00 a.m. tomorrow, Sunday 07/16, with an info copy to Jim Cicconi, Rm. 1051. Thanks.

RESPONSE: *OK, as noted*
[Signature]

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
July 15, 1989
12:30 p.m.
[LEIDEN]
Draft 3

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Hugo de Groot [U-go duh GROTE] -- known to the world as Grotius, [GRO-shus] the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice. It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

→ Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of ~~dangerous~~ ^{great} ~~passage~~ ^{challenging}. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is ^{great} ~~democracy~~ ^{challenge}.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." Ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know the cost of freedom is high.

That's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and elsewhere -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real

reductions in the level of arms -- nuclear and conventional -- that have ^{long} cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on ^{the} NATO's unity and strength ^{of the entire alliance} -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role -- the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear systems: each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: [A stronger Europe] -- a more united Europe -- ^{good for America} ~~is not something America or the Soviet Union need fear.~~ For us, it is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial

democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.

The United States will do its part. A month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changed^s meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air.

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action. The next step is clear: *as strong*
statements
We've got to work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic development ^{and} opens the door to a new world of democratic development, ^{go hand in hand} and we must open that door for millions of people around the world.] The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, there's Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

~~Just as we have nothing to fear from a stronger, more united~~
~~Europe -- the Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms~~
~~now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe.~~ We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

will → We ~~can~~ play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert -- a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe, ^{then} stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

in the development of political pluralism

Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us ^{once} would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. Theirs were the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters ^{at this point} is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.

And ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all

Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a ~~common home~~ ^{easy expression} in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to discover the new world of Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 15, 1989

MEMORANDUM TO CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: PEGGY DOOLEY PD
RE: LEIDEN SPEECH

✓ page 1, para 4: pronunciation for Grotius is GROW-she-us.

page 2, para 1: delete "ancient" before "stones of the Pieterskerk." The church dates from around 1500.

✓ page 3, para 2: "Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in all of recorded history." -- does this qualify as rhetoric? Hard to verify -- or to qualify "all of recorded history."

✓ page 5, para 3: Change "A month ago" to "A little over a month ago." Date of Clean Air Act announcement was June 8. Also "changed" should be "changes."

✓ page 5, para 4: Cut "Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action." Bob Grady says is not true.

→ page 6, para 5: We changed a sentence earlier in the speech (page 4, para 3) to make it clear that the United States and the Soviet Union have nothing to fear from a united Europe. Now we're splitting it up. Contradiction?

→ page 7, para 3: "Here in the pulpit at the Pieterskerk." -- the President is not speaking from the pulpit. It will be to the front of him, to his right.

SENSITIVE

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 07/15/89

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY:

9:00 A.M. Sunday 07/16

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(07/15 12:30 p.m. draft 3)

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BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>WINSTON</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<u>BLACKWILL</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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GRAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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RESPONSE:

*Particularly page 8
Sms*

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

McGroarty/Dooley
July 15, 1989
12:30 p.m.
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Draft 3

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The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America or the Soviet Union need fear. For us, it is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

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Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is **concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.**

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. **It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.**

The United States will do its part. A month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changed ^o meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air. *And to ensure that the US does a part in the world environment.*

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. Our European partners understand what is at stake, and you're taking action. The next step is clear: We ~~ve~~ ^{must} ~~got to~~ work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, **clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.**

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

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We can play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduces pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

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We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The **"other Europe"** -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Already said this on p 5

Last week, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

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In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

What about Grenada?

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. **Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.**

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Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

#

7:15 AM.

REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

BARBARA AND I THANK HER MAJESTY QUEEN BEATRIX AND
THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS FOR THE WARM WELCOME YOU
HAVE GIVEN US.

THE NETHERLANDS IS AN OLD FRIEND AND HONORED ALLY
OF THE UNITED STATES. THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR
NATIONS IS OLDER THAN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION -- AND
THE UNITED PROVINCES WERE ONE OF THE MODELS OUR
FOUNDERS LOOKED TO IN CREATING A NATION FROM THIRTEEN
SOVEREIGN STATES.

IT IS A PLEASURE TO VISIT LEIDEN -- A CITY WHOSE
VERY NAME HAS SYMBOLIZED FOR CENTURIES DUTCH
DETERMINATION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AGAINST THE
FORCES OF OCCUPATION. AND FOR AMERICANS, TOO, LEIDEN
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LET ME SAY CLEARLY: A STRONGER EUROPE -- A MORE UNITED EUROPE -- IS GOOD FOR AMERICA. IT IS A DEVELOPMENT WE WELCOME -- A NATURAL EVOLUTION WITHIN OUR ALLIANCE -- THE PRODUCT OF TRUE PARTNERSHIP FORTY YEARS IN THE MAKING.

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BUT WE'RE REALISTIC. WE KNOW THAT THE FACT THAT THESE GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEGUN TO REFORM HAS MORE TO DO WITH THEIR REALIZATION THAT COMMUNISM IS A DEAD-END DOCTRINE THAN WITH ANY NEW-FOUND LOVE OF FREEDOM. BUT WHAT MATTERS AT THIS POINT IS MOVEMENT, NOT MOTIVE. DEMOCRACY -- ONCE SET IN MOTION -- TAKES ON A MOMENTUM OF ITS OWN.

AND FINALLY, THERE'S EASTERN EUROPE.

LET ME EXPLAIN THE APPROACH I TAKE TOWARDS REFORM IN EASTERN EUROPE. WE WILL NEVER COMPROMISE OUR PRINCIPLES. WE WILL ALWAYS SPEAK OUT FOR FREEDOM. BUT WE UNDERSTAND AS WELL HOW VITAL A CAREFULLY CALIBRATED APPROACH IS IN THIS TIME OF CHANGE.

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WE ALL KNOW WHAT FOLLOWED. HALF OF EUROPE ENTERED THAT NEW ERA -- AND HALF OF EUROPE FOUND ITS PATH BLOCKED, WALLED OFF BY BARRIERS OF BRICK AND BARBED WIRE.

THE HALF OF EUROPE THAT WAS FREE DUG OUT FROM THE RUBBLE, RECOVERED FROM THE WAR -- AND LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF FREE GOVERNMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE THAT BROUGHT UNPARALLELED PROSPERITY, AND A LIFE IN PEACE AND FREEDOM.

THE "OTHER EUROPE" -- THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL -- ENDURED FOUR DECADES OF PRIVATION AND HARDSHIP, PERSECUTION AND FEAR.

TODAY, THAT "OTHER EUROPE" IS CHANGING. THE GREAT WHEEL IS MOVING ONCE MORE. OUR TIME IS A TIME OF NEW HOPE -- THE HOPE THAT ALL OF EUROPE CAN NOW KNOW THE FREEDOM THE NETHERLANDS HAS KNOWN, THAT AMERICA HAS KNOWN, THAT THE WEST HAS KNOWN.

OUR HOPE IS THAT THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE WILL NOW COME TO AN END -- THAT THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL WILL JOIN ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST, PROSPEROUS AND FREE.

POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF REFORM. THEY'VE TRAVELLED FAR THESE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, FARTHER THAN ANY OF US ONCE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. IN WARSAW, I SPOKE TO THE NEW POLISH PARLIAMENT THAT INCLUDES 100 FREELY-ELECTED SENATORS -- ELECTED TO OFFICE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S FIRST TRULY FREE ELECTION IN THE POST-WAR ERA. IN HUNGARY, I ADDRESSED THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY -- A UNIVERSITY WHERE THE LESSONS OF THE FREE MARKET ARE REPLACING THE TEACHINGS OF DAS KAPITAL.

AT THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND AT THE STATUE OF THE GREAT HUNGARIAN HERO KOSSUTH, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FILLED THE STREETS -- NEW VOICES, FULL OF NEW HOPE. THEIRS WERE THE FACES OF PILGRIMS ON A JOURNEY -- FIXED ON THE HORIZON, ON THE NEW WORLD COMING INTO VIEW.

AND THEY KNOW AS WE DO, THAT ULTIMATELY, WHATEVER THE ODDS, FREEDOM WILL SUCCEED.

IT'S A LESSON THE WORLD HAS LEARNED SEVERAL TIMES THIS CENTURY -- A LESSON THE DUTCH KNOW WELL. THE NETHERLANDS WILL NEVER FORGET THE NIGHTMARE OF OCCUPATION. SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY SUFFERED THROUGH THOSE LONG YEARS.

AND EVEN THEN -- FREEDOM ENDURED. HERE IN THE PIETERSKERK

-- BEHIND THESE WALLS, ABOVE THE RAFTERS -- RESISTANCE FIGHTERS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOOK REFUGE FROM THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION, FOUND SAFE HAVEN IN THIS CHURCH.

DAILY ACTS OF HEROISM -- THE CHURCH SEXTON WHO BROUGHT THEM FOOD, THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROCER WHO COLLECTED EXTRA RATION STAMPS -- KEPT THEM ALIVE -- KEPT THE SPIRIT OF DIGNITY AND HUMAN DECENCY ALIVE THROUGH THE NETHERLANDS' DARK NIGHT.

WHY? WHY WOULD PEOPLE ENDANGER THEMSELVES TO SAVE OTHERS? THEY DID IT FOR THE SIMPLEST, MOST HUMAN OF REASONS. IN THE WORDS OF JAN CAMPERT [YAHN KAHM-PERT], POET OF THE DUTCH RESISTANCE, THEY ACTED BECAUSE "THE HEART . . . COULD NOT DO OTHERWISE."

FREEDOM CAN NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED -- NOT THEN, NOT NOW. EVEN IN THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL, THE DREAM OF FREEDOM FOR ALL EUROPE HAS NEVER DIED. IT'S ALIVE TODAY -- IN WARSAW AND GDANSK, IN BUDAPEST AND ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE IS CLEAR: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TOWARD THE DAY WHEN ALL OF EUROPE -- EAST AND WEST -- IS FREE OF DISCORD, FREE OF DIVISION. A DAY WHEN PEOPLE IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN ACROSS THIS CONTINENT KNOW THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY.

HERE IN LEIDEN, WHERE THE PILGRIMS DREAMED THEIR
NEW WORLD, LET US PLEDGE OUR EFFORT TO DISCOVER THE NEW
WORLD OF EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE, A NEW WORLD NOW WITHIN
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ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU. GOD BLESS THE NETHERLANDS,
GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE FRIENDS
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#

8 AM

REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

BARBARA AND I THANK HER MAJESTY QUEEN BEATRIX AND THE PEOPLE OF THE NETHERLANDS FOR THE WARM WELCOME YOU HAVE GIVEN US.

THE NETHERLANDS IS AN OLD FRIEND AND HONORED ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES. THE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN OUR NATIONS IS OLDER THAN THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION -- AND THE UNITED PROVINCES WERE ONE OF THE MODELS OUR FOUNDERS LOOKED TO IN CREATING A NATION FROM THIRTEEN SOVEREIGN STATES.

IT IS A PLEASURE TO VISIT LEIDEN -- A CITY WHOSE VERY NAME HAS SYMBOLIZED FOR CENTURIES DUTCH DETERMINATION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AGAINST THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION. AND FOR AMERICANS, TOO, LEIDEN IS A SPECIAL CITY, A PLACE WHERE WE TRACE OUR ORIGINS.

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TODAY, THAT "OTHER EUROPE" IS CHANGING. THE GREAT WHEEL IS MOVING ONCE MORE. OUR TIME IS A TIME OF NEW HOPE -- THE HOPE THAT ALL OF EUROPE CAN NOW KNOW THE FREEDOM THE NETHERLANDS HAS KNOWN, THAT AMERICA HAS KNOWN, THAT THE WEST HAS KNOWN.

OUR HOPE IS THAT THE UNNATURAL DIVISION OF EUROPE WILL NOW COME TO AN END -- THAT THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL WILL JOIN ITS NEIGHBORS TO THE WEST, PROSPEROUS AND FREE.

POLAND AND HUNGARY ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF REFORM. THEY'VE TRAVELLED FAR THESE PAST TWELVE MONTHS, FARTHER THAN ANY OF US ONCE WOULD HAVE THOUGHT POSSIBLE. IN WARSAW, I SPOKE TO THE NEW POLISH PARLIAMENT THAT INCLUDES 100 FREELY-ELECTED SENATORS -- ELECTED TO OFFICE IN EASTERN EUROPE'S FIRST TRULY FREE ELECTION IN THE POST-WAR ERA. IN HUNGARY, I ADDRESSED THE STUDENTS AND FACULTY OF KARL MARX UNIVERSITY -- A UNIVERSITY WHERE THE LESSONS OF THE FREE MARKET ARE REPLACING THE TEACHINGS OF DAS KAPITAL.

AT THE SHIPYARDS OF GDANSK, AND AT THE STATUE OF THE GREAT HUNGARIAN HERO KOSSUTH, TENS OF THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE FILLED THE STREETS -- NEW VOICES, FULL OF NEW HOPE. THEIRS WERE THE FACES OF PILGRIMS ON A JOURNEY -- FIXED ON THE HORIZON, ON THE NEW WORLD COMING INTO VIEW.

AND THEY KNOW AS WE DO, THAT ULTIMATELY, WHATEVER THE ODDS, FREEDOM WILL SUCCEED.

IT'S A LESSON THE WORLD HAS LEARNED SEVERAL TIMES THIS CENTURY -- A LESSON THE DUTCH KNOW WELL. THE NETHERLANDS WILL NEVER FORGET THE NIGHTMARE OF OCCUPATION. SOME OF YOU HERE TODAY SUFFERED THROUGH THOSE LONG YEARS.

AND EVEN THEN -- FREEDOM ENDURED. HERE IN THE PIETERSKERK -- BEHIND THESE WALLS, ABOVE THE RAFTERS -- RESISTANCE FIGHTERS AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS TOOK REFUGE FROM THE FORCES OF OCCUPATION, FOUND SAFE HAVEN IN THIS CHURCH.

DAILY ACTS OF HEROISM -- THE CHURCH SEXTON WHO BROUGHT THEM FOOD, THE NEIGHBORHOOD GROCER WHO COLLECTED EXTRA RATION STAMPS -- KEPT THEM ALIVE -- KEPT THE SPIRIT OF DIGNITY AND HUMAN DECENCY ALIVE THROUGH THE NETHERLANDS' DARK NIGHT.

WHY? WHY WOULD PEOPLE ENDANGER THEMSELVES TO SAVE OTHERS? THEY DID IT FOR THE SIMPLEST, MOST HUMAN OF REASONS. IN THE WORDS OF JAN CAMPERT [YAHN KAHM-PERT], POET OF THE DUTCH RESISTANCE, THEY ACTED BECAUSE "THE HEART . . . COULD NOT DO OTHERWISE."

FREEDOM CAN NEVER BE EXTINGUISHED -- NOT THEN, NOT NOW. EVEN IN THE EUROPE BEHIND THE WALL, THE DREAM OF FREEDOM FOR ALL EUROPE HAS NEVER DIED. IT'S ALIVE TODAY -- IN WARSAW AND GDANSK, IN BUDAPEST AND ACROSS THE SOVIET UNION.

THE CHALLENGE WE FACE IS CLEAR: WE MUST WORK TOGETHER TOWARD THE DAY WHEN ALL OF EUROPE -- EAST AND WEST -- IS FREE OF DISCORD, FREE OF DIVISION. A DAY WHEN PEOPLE IN EVERY CITY AND TOWN ACROSS THIS CONTINENT KNOW THE FREEDOMS WE ENJOY.

HERE IN LEIDEN, WHERE THE PILGRIMS DREAMED THEIR NEW WORLD, LET US PLEDGE OUR EFFORT TO DISCOVER THE NEW WORLD OF EUROPE, WHOLE AND FREE, A NEW WORLD NOW WITHIN OUR REACH.

ONCE AGAIN, THANK YOU. GOD BLESS THE NETHERLANDS, GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, AND THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM EVERYWHERE.

#

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PAGES 10

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RECORD # _____

FROM/LOCATION

Sharon Wagner/Intercontinental Hotel

LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

Jim Cicconi/Arch de la Defense - 

ADDITIONAL ADDRESSES/LOCATION/TIME OF RECEIPT

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/REMARKS:

Jim, Attached is the Leiden speech for the President.

McGroarty/Dooley
July 16, 1989
12:00 noon
[LEIDEN]
Draft 4

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 17, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and the United Provinces were one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden -- a city whose very name has symbolized for centuries Dutch determination, and the struggle for freedom against the forces of occupation. And for Americans, too, Leiden is a special city, a place where we trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Hugo de Groot [U-go duh GROTE] -- known to the world as Grotius, [GROW-she-us] the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the International Court of Justice. It was here that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk [PETERS-KIRK], they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of the Peiterskerk -- the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader, was laid to rest.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In their search for liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of great challenges. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people around the world. In the words of Victor Hugo: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come." Ladies and gentlemen, freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling

for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and no struggle is without sacrifice. Americans and the Dutch both know the cost of freedom is high.

That's why both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.

We are part of the commonwealth of free nations. Almost two months ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlift to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and elsewhere -- ^{some} people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build an enduring peace. Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move beyond containment -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations.

Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, and its commitment to maintain strong deterrent forces, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- ~~nuclear and conventional~~

We must never forget that to keep the peace in Europe is to keep the peace for America.

4
that ~~have~~^{has} long cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on the unity and strength of the entire alliance -- not on the actions of one nation alone. The revival of the Western European Union -- in which the Netherlands played a vital role -- the growing cooperation on security issues between West Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their own nuclear ^{forces} systems: each of these developments is a sign that Europe sees the wisdom of sustaining the collective strength that has kept the peace.

The lesson of our post-war experience is this: Strength has kept us safe, and has created opportunities for change. And from these opportunities, we can create a new era of enduring peace.

Let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is good for America. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's why we look forward to the single European market and a more integrated European Community. The world's major industrial democracies must work to maintain an open trading system to preserve sustained economic growth.

Our progress at the Economic Summit in Paris brought us closer to a more coordinated and common approach across a wide spectrum of critical global issues. The key is concerted action -- bringing the collective strength of the West to bear on our common concerns.

Concerns like the environment. Global warming, acid rain, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment.

The United States will do its part. A little over a month ago, I announced a series of sweeping changes to our Clean Air Act -- changes meant to ensure that every American, in the space of one generation, will breathe clean air.

Shortly after I return home, we will send our Clean Air legislation to Congress. Last week in Poland and Hungary, I announced initiatives to work with those two countries to combat their pollution problems. The next step is clear: We must work together -- take concerted action to combat this common problem, clean up our environment for ourselves and for our children.

And the Summit underscored the fact that it's time we take the next step in solving the debt problem -- to encourage conditions for global growth that will benefit the industrialized nations and developing world alike. We must make progress on this because it is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom can nourish the barren soil of

poverty -- just as the Pilgrims landed upon a desolate rock, and laid the foundations of the freedom and prosperity we know today.

Economic and democratic development go hand in hand. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world.

And finally, there's Eastern Europe.

Let me explain the approach I take towards reform in Eastern Europe. We will never compromise our principles. We will always speak out for freedom. But we understand as well how vital a carefully calibrated approach is in this time of change.

The Soviet Union has nothing to fear from the reforms now unfolding in some of the nations of Eastern Europe. We support reform -- in Eastern Europe, and in the USSR. I've said many times I want to see perestroika succeed. I want to see the Soviet Union chart a course that brings it into the community of nations.

My visits these last two months demonstrate how closely the future of Europe concerns ~~us~~ ^{the United States} how deeply we're engaged in all that is taking place here. We will play a constructive role in Eastern Europe's economic development, in the development of political pluralism -- and in creating an international climate in which reform can succeed. That is why America's relations with the Soviet Union are so important. Improved relations with the USSR reduce pressure on the nations of Eastern Europe -- especially those on the cutting edge of reform.

The new world we seek is a commonwealth of free nations working in concert -- a world where more and more nations enter a widening circle of freedom.

In the pulpit here at the Pieterskerk, one year after peace was restored in Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill said: "The great wheel has swung full circle." Europe then stood at the threshold of a new era -- an era whose hope Churchill expressed in a single, simple phrase: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- endured four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, that "other Europe" is changing. The great wheel has ^{moving} swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that ^{the West} our allies ^{has} ~~have~~ known.

Our hope is that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

Poland and Hungary are at the forefront of reform. They've travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us once would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators -- elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election in the post-war era. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market are replacing the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk, and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, tens of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. Theirs were the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union -- we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved peacefully from dictatorship to democracy.

~~But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these governments have begun to reform has more to do with their realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine, than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters at this point is movement, not motive. Democracy -- once set in motion -- takes on a momentum of its own.~~

And ultimately, whatever the odds, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Some of you here today suffered through those long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in the Pieterskerk -- behind these walls, above the rafters -- resistance fighters and university students took refuge from the forces of occupation, found safe haven in this church.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherlands' dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the words of Jan Campert [YAHN KAHM-PERT], poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart . . . could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and ~~in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.~~ ^{still}

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of

discord, free of division. A day when people in every city and town across this continent know the freedoms we enjoy.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to discover the new world of Europe, whole and free, a new world now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

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(Insert)

(II)

My visits these last two months demonstrate how closely ~~the future of~~ ~~the~~ is linked to Europe ~~that that of~~ No United States. For half a century, America has been deeply involved in the future of this continent. ~~I am~~ I am U.S. ~~have~~ ~~policy~~ ~~to~~ ~~tell~~ ~~you~~ That involvement will be a strategic fact of the next century ~~x~~ as it has been of this one.

(II) We will play etc...

5300

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

To: Chriss Winston,

July 7, 1989

The NSC concurs with the changes indicated.

Brent Scowcroft
Brent Scowcroft

James W. Cicconi
Assistant to the President
and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
Ext. 2702

89 JUL 5 P 3: 32

McGroarty/Dooley
July 5, 1989
12:30 p.m.
[LEIDEN]

1989 JUL -5 11:12 -

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 18, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and Holland's United Provinces was one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden, the city that can rightly claim to be the birthplace of the Netherlands -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, Leiden is a special city, a place where we too trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the *International Court of Justice* ~~World Court~~. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that ~~the Pilgrims~~ came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of ~~Pieterskerk~~ ^{English Puritans, who in our history are known as the Pilgrims,} -- lies the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world ^{for America}. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people, ^{on every} [from Beijing] ^{continent} to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free.] In the words of Victor Hugo: An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come. And freedom's time has come.

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms ^{for which} others are struggling [for] are freedoms we enjoy. But, ^{as you know from your own history,} freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are ^{partners in a moral and spiritual community} ~~partners in an~~ ^{of commonwealth} ~~alliance of free~~ ~~nations~~ that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents ~~unites a~~ ~~hemisphere~~. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture. *We are part of the commonwealth of free nations.*

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Treaty of Utrecht, and the traditions of union and liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Seven weeks ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts ^e to besieged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people ^{widely} expected ^{or feared} war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known ^{[all of the} ~~in the~~ ^{recorded history.]}

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a ~~new~~ ^{an} enduring peace. ~~While the very foundations of Communist society are eroding in the East, this is no time for us to be complacent.~~

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now ^{may} have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, ~~and the maintenance of needed deterrent ~~power~~ forces, and~~ the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms ^{on this continent --} ~~AA conventional and nuclear~~ ~~that have cast a shadow~~ ~~over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.~~ ~~the shadow which~~ ^{the presence of} massive Soviet conventional forces ~~has~~ cast over Western Europe since 1945.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- of which the Netherlands is a charter member; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

These are separate, distinct flows that conceptually are merged together

We hope finally to remove

→ and their moves toward cooperation in this area

5

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their ^{own nuclear systems.} ~~deterrent forces~~; ^{of these developments} each is a sign that Europe ^{sees the wisdom} is determined ^{of sustaining} to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America ~~must~~ fears. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992, -- ^{That is why we look} and it's ^{forward to the Single European Market and a more integrated European Community.} ~~the principle of~~ ^{maintain an open} ~~reason~~ the world's major industrial democracies must ^{work} ~~work~~ together to ^{preserve} ~~maintain~~ ^{trading system} ~~conditions~~ ^{and} sustained economic growth. ~~This~~ ^{is a lesson which the Dutch people have understood for generations.}

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans -- these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our ~~enviroment~~. (Summit)

And it's time we tackle the debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development, *should not be forced to compete with*
 Democracy is at stake. Freedom *[is no match for a]* hungry stomachs -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a *commonwealth* ~~world~~ of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at Pieterskerk, one year after armistice brought peace to Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill saw a Europe on the threshold of a new era. "The great wheel," he said, "has swung full circle." Churchill chose the motto of the great University of Leiden to give voice to his hope: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

~~The~~^S half of Europe ~~[that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and]~~ laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- ^{endured} lived ~~through~~ four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.


Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

One week ago, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us ^{might} [would] have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 [freely] elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election ^{in more than forty years.} ~~since the days of Stalin.~~ In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital. Is this actually true?

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope. ~~[for democracy]~~
A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.



But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these ^{governments} [regimes] have begun to reform has more to do with ^{their} the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy takes on a momentum of its own.

What the past 50 years have demonstrated is that
 1 [And] whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson [the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson] the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Many of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in Pieterskerk, behind the wall of this great church organ, a small group of university students -- sympathetic to the cause of resistance -- lived out the occupation in hiding.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps -- kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland^(s) dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 5, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR CHRISS WINSTON

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: Pieterskerk, Leiden

This is an excellent draft with solid ideas about freedom and some superb rhetoric -- some of the best that I have read in a good while. I think that this speech has real potential to be remembered long after it is delivered.

My only substantive comment concerns the first paragraph on page six. We have already developed a plan -- the Brady Plan -- designed to address the international debt problems facing many developing countries. Perhaps the current negotiations with Mexico will yield some tangible results by the time of this speech. At a minimum we should not say that it's time we tackle the debt problem. We can develop some language from the Summit discussions on this subject that will serve us well.

The rest of the speech is simply excellent.

cc: James W. Cicconi

89 JUN 5 11:11

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/5/89 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 7/5/89 6:00 PM

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK, LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS

	ACTION FYI			ACTION FYI	
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCCLURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SUNUNU	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	NEWMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	STUDDERT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BATES	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	UNTERMAYER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BREEDEN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGERS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CARD	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	WINSTON	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
CICCONI	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PINKERTON	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
HAGIN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS: Please forward any comments directly to Chriss Winston, Rm. 122, x2930, no later than 6:00 PM, TODAY, Wednesday, July 5, with an info copy to my office. Thank you.

RESPONSE:

James W. Cicconi
 Assistant to the President
 and Deputy to the Chief of Staff
 Ext. 2702

1989 JUL -5 11:12 -

McGroarty/Dooley
July 5, 1989
12:30 p.m.
[LEIDEN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PIETERSKERK
LEIDEN, THE NETHERLANDS
JULY 18, 1989
3:00 PM

[Introductory acknowledgements....] Barbara and I thank Her Majesty Queen Beatrix and the people of the Netherlands for the warm welcome you have given us.

The Netherlands is an old friend and honored ally of the United States. The friendship between our nations is older than the American Constitution -- and Holland's United Provinces was one of the models our founders looked to in creating a nation from thirteen sovereign states.

It is a pleasure to visit Leiden, the city that can rightly claim to be the birthplace of the Netherlands -- a city whose very name signifies Dutch resolve and determination. And for Americans, Leiden is a special city, a place where we too trace our origins.

So many of the individuals who shaped the modern world walked the cobbled streets of Leiden. It was here in Leiden that Grotius -- the father of modern international law -- studied, in the nation that is today home to the World Court. It was here

that Rembrandt lived and worked -- and created a world of beauty that moves us today.

It was here to Leiden that the Pilgrims came to escape persecution -- to live, work and worship in peace. In the shadow of the Pieterskerk, they found the freedom to witness God -- openly and without fear. Here -- under the ancient stones of Peiterskerk -- lies the body of John Robinson, the Pilgrims' spiritual leader.

And it was from this place the Pilgrims set their course for a new world. In search of liberty, they took with them lessons learned here of freedom and tolerance. The Pilgrims faced a dangerous passage. But, carried on the winds of hope, they arrived. On the rocky coast of New England -- at the edge of a wild and unsettled continent -- they planted the seeds of a new world -- a world that became America.

Today, as when the Pilgrims left this city, a new world lies within our reach.

Our time is a time of great hope -- and a time of dangerous passage. The new world we seek is shaped by an idea -- an idea of universal appeal and undeniable force. That idea is democracy.

The power of the democratic idea is evident everywhere -- in the halls of government, in the hearts of people from Beijing to Budapest who have yearned for generations to be free. In the words of Victor Hugo: An invasion of armies can be resisted, but not an idea whose time has come. **And freedom's time has come.**

We -- the people of the United States, the people of the Netherlands -- are fortunate. The freedoms others are struggling for are freedoms we enjoy. But freedom never comes without struggle -- and it can never be sustained by people who forget that freedom is our most precious gift.

Both of our nations are partners in an alliance of free nations that spans the ocean the Pilgrims crossed. Our alliance, the NATO alliance, connects two continents -- unites a hemisphere. But what connects us isn't merely a fact of geography. Ours is an alliance forged on **common values -- rooted in a shared history and heritage, a common kinship and culture.**

We speak the common language of the Declaration of Independence. The Rights of Man -- whose truths ring true today as they did two hundred years ago. The Treaty of Utrecht, and the traditions of union and liberty built over centuries here in the Netherlands.

Seven weeks ago, I came to Europe to celebrate the fruits of our alliance: four decades of peace, prosperity and freedom. At the time of NATO's founding -- amid the airlifts to beseiged Berlin -- few would have predicted a peace so strong and lasting. Here in the Netherlands -- and not only here -- people expected war to come again within their lifetimes. Instead, the NATO era has brought the longest period of peace Europe has known in the modern age.

And today, the Atlantic Alliance -- formed to contain the threat of Soviet expansionism -- is creating new opportunities to ease tensions -- to build a new world, to build a more enduring peace.

Thanks to NATO's strength and unity, we now have the opportunity to move **beyond containment** -- to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations. Thanks to NATO's steadiness of purpose, the way is now open to real reductions in the level of arms -- conventional and nuclear -- that have cast a shadow over this continent, the most heavily militarized on earth.

Seizing these opportunities -- reaching that new world -- depends on NATO's unity and strength -- not on the actions of one nation alone. Close cooperation is the key. The revival of the Western European Union -- of which the Netherlands is a charter member; the growing cooperation on security issues between West

Germany and France; British and French resolve to modernize their deterrent forces: each is a sign that Europe is determined to sustain the collective strength that has kept the peace.

And let me say clearly: A stronger Europe -- a more united Europe -- is not something America must fear. It is a development we welcome -- a natural evolution within our Alliance -- the product of true partnership forty years in the making.

This trend towards closer cooperation isn't limited to collective security alone. Around the world, countries are now recognizing that no nation can prosper in economic isolation. That's the meaning of Europe 1992 -- and it's the principle reason the world's major industrial democracies must work together to maintain conditions for sustained economic growth.

[We made progress at the Economic Summit in Paris. Progress in developing a common approach to issues of common concern -- of global concern.

Issues like the environment. Global warming, the destruction of our forests, and pollution of the world's oceans - - these are problems that know no borders, that no line on a map has the power to stop. Pollution crosses continents and oceans. It's time for nations to join forces in common defense of our environment. {Summit}

The Brady
plan is
a good
starting point.

McG:

[take the next step in solving

And it's time we ~~tackle the~~ debt problem. Debt is the kind of ticking time bomb that threatens growth everywhere -- not just in the developing world.

This is more than a matter of economic development. Democracy is at stake. Freedom is no match for a hungry stomach -- and poverty is barren soil for the democratic idea.

Economic development opens the door to a new world of democratic development -- and we must open that door for millions of people around the world. The steps we've taken towards a common strategy on debt will sustain a favorable climate for growth -- and for the flourishing of democracy in the developing world. {Summit}

And finally, we made progress in a collective effort to encourage the movement towards greater freedom now underway in Eastern Europe. {Summit}]

The new world we seek is a world of free nations working in concert -- a world where more nations live within the circle of freedom.

Here in the pulpit at Pieterskerk, one year after armistice brought peace to Europe, Winston Churchill spoke to the people of

Leiden. The allies had triumphed over tyranny. The occupation was over. After six years of war and devastation, Churchill saw a Europe on the threshold of a new era. "The great wheel," he said, "has swung full circle." Churchill chose the motto of the great University of Leiden to give voice to his hope: "Let freedom reign."

We all know what followed. Half of Europe entered that new era -- and half of Europe found its path blocked, walled off by barriers of brick and barbed wire.

The half of Europe that was free dug out from the rubble, recovered from the war -- and laid the foundations of free government and free enterprise that brought unparalleled prosperity, and a life in peace and freedom.

The "other Europe" -- the Europe behind the wall -- lived through four decades of privation and hardship, persecution and fear.

Today, all that is changing. The great wheel has swung full circle once more. Our time is a time of new hope -- the hope that all of Europe can now know the freedom the Netherlands has known, that America has known, that our allies have known.

Our hope is the hope that the unnatural division of Europe will now come to an end -- that the Europe behind the wall will join its neighbors to the West, prosperous and free.

One week ago, I visited Poland and Hungary -- two countries that have travelled far these past twelve months, farther than any of us would have thought possible. In Warsaw, I spoke to the new Polish Parliament that includes 100 freely-elected Senators - - elected to office in Eastern Europe's first truly free election since the days of Stalin. In Hungary, I addressed the students and faculty of Karl Marx University -- a university where the lessons of the free market have replaced the teachings of Das Kapital.

At the shipyards of Gdansk and at the statue of the great Hungarian hero Kossuth, hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets -- new voices, full of new hope for democracy. A sea of faces: the faces of Pilgrims on a journey -- fixed on the horizon, on the new world coming into view.

In Poland, in Hungary -- and of course in the Soviet Union - - we're witnessing truly remarkable events. Never in the history of the communist world has a nation moved from dictatorship to democracy.

But we're realistic. We know that the fact that these regimes have begun to reform has more to do with the realization that communism is a dead-end doctrine than with any new-found love of freedom. But what matters is movement, not motive. Democracy takes on a momentum of its own.

And whatever the odds, ultimately, freedom will succeed.

That's a lesson the world has learned several times this century -- a lesson the Dutch know well. The Netherlands will never forget the nightmare of occupation. Many of you here today suffered through those five long years.

And even then -- freedom endured. Here in Pieterskerk, behind the wall of this great church organ, a small group of university students -- sympathetic to the cause of resistance -- lived out the occupation in hiding.

Daily acts of heroism -- the church sexton who brought them food, the neighborhood grocer who collected extra ration stamps - - kept them alive -- kept the spirit of dignity and human decency alive through the Netherland's dark night.

Why? Why would people endanger themselves to save others? They did it for the simplest, most human of reasons. In the

words of Jan Campert, poet of the Dutch resistance, they acted because "the heart could not do otherwise."

Freedom can never be extinguished -- not then, not now. Even in the Europe behind the wall, the dream of freedom for all Europe has never died. It's alive today -- in Warsaw and Gdansk, in Budapest and across the Soviet Union, and in every corner of the closed societies of Eastern Europe.

The challenge we face is clear: we must work together toward the day when all of Europe -- East and West -- is free of discord, free of division. A day when freedom and the democratic ideals we share find a common home in every city and town across this continent.

Here in Leiden, where the Pilgrims dreamed their new world, let us pledge our effort to secure our own new world -- the new Europe, whole and free, that is now within our reach.

Once again, thank you. God bless the Netherlands, God bless the United States of America, and the friends of freedom everywhere.

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